A: Bernardi II, 96-6 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Mimeo FL.12

cattle " and " red bulls ". Routledge,[1] mentions two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, " the black striped cattle ", and " the red and spotted cattle ", which were, very probably, no other thing than the castrates.

The Kikuyu clans, *ei pisia*, pl. *ei pisia* or *ma pisiawa*, pl. *ma pisiawa*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, Routledge,[2] and the author of MS. No. 68 have recorded the names of a few clan totems. Fox,[3] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans.

The true exogamic unit of the Kikuyu seems to be any individual unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Kikuyu may be adopted into another clan than his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable.

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very close. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring exogamy-units. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Kirathimo* clan is predominant in Kagiri section; the *Anguki* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections " There is no rule ", writes Routledge,[4] " governing the distribution of the various *piisi* (clans); clan members of as many as three *piisi* will be found in one *mera mojong* (elders' village) or a *mera mungai* (warriors' village) ".

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as Fosbrooke[5] writes: " The

[1] Routledge, l. c., p. 288.
[2] Routledge, l. c., p. 136.
[3] Fox, l. c., p. 288.
[4] Routledge, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1910, p. 122.
[5] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 42.

is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the Ichuro had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Omura elders would have been justified in acting as they did.

On a safari in June, 1945, Ichuro Mbaiya told down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (beat) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the Ichuro's part in this section is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbaiya was passing off an original a curse which had been used in Omura for years.

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonial has been recorded as an important function of the Ichuro, this activity is subject to various restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the Ichuro of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' Ichuro may be sought; for instance the Ogekuro or passing out ceremony of the Omura age-set of the Kisiangge section was commonly held under Parri, and the Omura or promotion ceremony of the Kisiia age under Mbaiya, who were respectively the ruling Ichuro at the material times. But in fact an old Kibuyu adeptee of the Bogichong clan, and Lolkidrou ole Kadhongo (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Monitsi Ichuro received the fee in respect of these ceremonies from the Rotierora and Kibuyu areas, while those contributed by the Monitsi and Longisia Masai went to Lolkidrou at Siali, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangayan, Ichuro of the Lora section, performed the Omura or promotion of the Kisiia age for the Bumpere and Lobokitani sections, which are normally under Kimuruai (ib). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' Ichuro to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section.

In the choice of Laigwenek or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesmen presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kisiangge. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the leaders who is a chief of ceremonies only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwenek or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the 6 Piron elders keep in very close touch with the Ichuro, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwenek of the Kisiia or Senior Warrior Age of to-day state that they were first taken to Lolkou Parri when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1923; they were of course only boys at the time. The Laigwenek of Lomagasen for instance

Number of cattle	Cattle per Gala. Given		Percentage
Under 50	—	50	—
50 — 99	—	99	—
100 — 149	—	149	—
150 — 199	—	199	—
200 — 249	—	249	—
250 — 299	—	299	—
300 — 349	—	349	—
350 — 399	—	399	—
400 — 449	—	449	—
450 — 499	—	499	—
500 — 549	—	549	—
550 — 599	—	599	—
600 — 649	—	649	—
650 — 699	—	699	—
700 — 749	—	749	—
750 — 799	—	799	—
800 — 849	—	849	—
850 — 899	—	899	—
900 — 949	—	949	—
950 — 999	—	999	—
Over 1000	—	1000	—

Total 100

In 1926/28 cattle were owned by these 100 gala. It follows that the average number per gala is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gala possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd. If a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will consider cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help tend his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage dues. The latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections, for example a man goes himself or sends a son to maximize the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the women are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for sacrifices, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance to Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gala lies between 150 and 200 or between 25 and 34 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

and alien children, the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process.

First of all a Maori adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's home until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *manuka*, that of another *ngutu whakatuki*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the other's fourth, and pays to the true mother a cow and call called *wangai*. She takes over the child as her own, and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even with the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in the manner in which referred to afterwards -- the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ei ornati tangata*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Maori to adopt an alien's child, or (now the will occur when the Maori marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son, or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Maori may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after, or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *whangai*. There are two categories of adoption one (short) the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children are known the 'pure' the way other Maori.

A peculiar nature of adoption exists amongst the Ngaitawa or Ariawa's clan. Any Maori, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ei ariki*, he also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee starving and departing, but having forfeited everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the latter's immediate family.

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Maori as being racially pure. If they came in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the guardianship in a Maori family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed -- in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allowed to a woman to trust for her children were nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

436 D. Nandi Dist.—Further Notes on the Divers of Kenya Colony.

[illegible] The name of the main group 'Lumbo among' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Lumbo Kipkoi' because the former means "the Divers and Indigenous and the latter the Divers and cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to learn whether or most cases of the divisions are clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Divers are *Ol-piton* (the clan) and *Sub-kokwet* (the sub-clan). But these words are not used fully by the natives, because the Divers use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 286, speaks of a group of Divers called 'Lumbwa or Dalamboo. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Divers area, is quite different in language and customs from the Divers, being similar to the Nandi.

[illegible] These clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

1. Kiss of Crocodile-Unit (the black cobra ?). Emphasizes of Several Enough Unit (the dice black snake). 3 Elements of Animal Fam (the brown snake). 4 Subdivs all snakes.

[illegible] *Adoption.*—The Divers like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to look after cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Sotik, Kapsin and S Kibi, west of the Mau valley. An adopted person is called *Ki-ringe*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural tribe, provided that is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Divers, and even though he may be unable to speak the Divers language he is not telling a lie according to Divers ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given the best of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[illegible] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Divers. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Divers woman.

[illegible] *Subdivisions. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

the father's home or in his own quarters. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on mention having sexual relations with married women.

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers if she may remain with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his.

Polygamy

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Sudie's aunts was said to have had many as thirty or so. Actual figures show that wives are rarely so common, three and even two being much less often, and some have had only one wife. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, and as she comes to the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. In each wife's allocated hut is stored the bride-wealth for her children.

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and clear. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own grade) may have sexual relations with his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A married man is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy.

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a compromise separation may occur; the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of the age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father.

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and even today children of "foreigners" (those who are not Bantu) may be adopted, especially by lovers of families. Such children become accepted as Bantu. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's sister who has been orphaned by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives.

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and sometimes. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and when the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Sudie says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl.

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the fifth day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and to the morning the mother, carrying the child on her back, walks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother

[illegible]

727 [illegible] for the night. Two captives are set aside. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not annihilated. On occasion, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that black warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down children, in order not to return as [illegible] the ones in the new pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured women may even become the (wife) wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child entirely like his own. A necessary of adoption does not exist: the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who cares it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home front: in the evening a fierce fetish is again built, and at the same time the doors of the booty destined for the [illegible] are open. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on the second evening, while the men sit carousing. It is called [illegible], [illegible], because men fall on both sides. Other names are [illegible] of the provisions in living [illegible] (women's rulers along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat raw fruits; [illegible] of the (i) colors suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; [illegible], formed from the call [illegible], that is, approximately: "only revenge, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

[illegible]
51. 46. On picket duty.